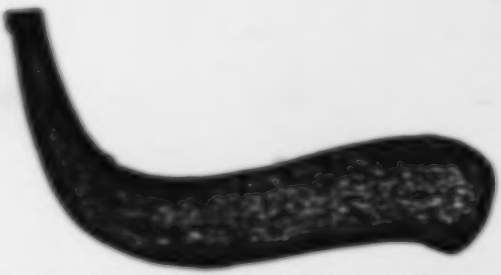
/337 cont./

243 [478] [534] Once their fields are free of weeds, the Chiriguano call together relatives and friends. On the date agreed upon, all go to the fields early in the morning, after waking each other up with shouts, whistles, and by blowing into cow horns, which for them take the place of horn (in Chiriguano: waka-ranti) (Fig. 5), each trying to outdo the other. In olden days the [522] village chief used to take part in the sowing and watched to make sure that all helped one another.



[534] [321] Fig. 5. Cow horn (waka-ranti) which the Chiriguano use for a horn. The end is carved into a mouthpiece. Prov.: Ibopeyti. (1/5 nat. size.)

Sowing is done in a very simple way. If the ground is soft, the Indian sticks his shovel vertically into the soil, after giving two or three thrusts in order to push it in as far as possible. He enlarges the slit by pushing his shovel forward without drawing it out and slips two or three kernels of corn into the opening. Without changing position he makes two or three similar holes on his right and left, takes a step forward and begins again. The plants thus grow in a certain alignment /338/ which is far from perfect. Since several work at a time, the job is done quickly. At noon, or about two o'clock in the afternoon at the latest, they have finished their task and go back to the village where the chicha or kĩwi, which the owner of the field has had prepared for his helpers, awaits them

[461] [273]

/364 cont./

273 life of the individual or the community is associated with this beverage. The divine principle which kãwi has in it does not take away its secular character; and, while one gets drunk on it during the festivals, nothing prevents washing down meals with it at the time when the corn ripens. As a sign of [574] hospitality every stranger is invited to empty a calabash full [576] of it; and the compliments he addresses to the wife of his host fill his heart with pride.

527 The Indians always appreciated the liking I showed 273 /Plate XIV appears here/ /365/ for kãwi, and my old friend [123] Karnapadyú did not fail to recall the big vats full to the brim to persuade one to return to celebrate Easter with them, or, if you like, the corn harvest, since these two dates coincide more or less. Such promises /Fig. 29 appears here/ could not remain without effect, and Karnapadyú was not at all surprised to see me arrive shortly before the festival.

The greatest animation prevailed in the village of Carurutí, formerly so calm. Men came and went, bending under enormous loads of wood. All the urns were lined up in front of the huts and buried to a third of their height (Plate XIV, 1).

527 For a long time big piles of corn had already been heaped up 273 in the village, which all, big and small, men and women, 243 /Fig. 30 appears here/ were actively engaged in husking. [412] Some used their fingers, others knives or a pointed stick. Not [413] one had thought of the so practical instrument used by their ancestors: a small wooden peg with a leather loop to put two fingers through. It is curious to note that such a simple object fell into disuse; an old man still sold me a specimen made of iron but a close copy, so to speak, of the wooden prototype, of which it reproduced the smallest details (Fig. 29).

273 Now the hardest work begins: the grinding of the kernels. Day and night the dry noise of the pestles crushing the corn [461] resounds in the village. Often, to get the chore over more quickly, three women group around the same mortar and with surprising speed raise and pound their pestle without a single [415] error in rhythm interrupting their laborious work. Once ground, the corn is sifted in an urumpesa or large-meshed sieve (Fig. 31). The rather coarse flour is poured into large urns filled with water.

/43 cont./

*136 There are wasps, and they are of several classes, but the yellow or red ones are the most vicious; there are bees in the trees, in the roofs, in the walls, and in the ground, and all of them make hives in order to make honey and wax, but the best honey is that of the bees called señoritas. Both things, 222 237 that is, honey and wax, are known as beneficial by the Indians, [461] but they devote themselves to this very little, because they consider it the work of lowly and poor people, and the 237 Chiriguano does not like to consider himself such. Wax is 464 seldom gathered, even in times of scarcity, nor does the neophyte or new Christian work at earning his living by looking for beeswax.

*136 A spider bite almost always produces bad consequences, *825 which can be avoided by the use of ammonia; this is another [759] plentiful insect. In the rainy season they extend their webs from one tree to another, obstructing the road, no matter how wide it may be, and frequently travelers who are out at night or who get up early are bothered by these webs, which stick to their faces and clothing, /44/ just as the spiders themselves, which are so loathsome, not infrequently catch hold. The bite of those that live in the forest, they state, is not poisonous.

[859] All spiders are called "Yanduti" in Chiriguano, and the web, "Yanduti nupa," or spider's bed; from the web of the forest spiders the children make nets for catching birds or for their games. When wet they are quite elastic. The true tarantula, which the whites call apasanca and the Indians "Yanduti huasu," is quite ugly because of its fuzz, eight legs, and two arms. The natives state that it is poisonous, but its bite is not fatal. They almost never come out by twos, but upon killing one and wanting to know if it has a companion, it is enough to burn the dead one in order to cause the live one to come out the moment it smells the odor. The apasancas, or tarantulas, come out when it is about to rain and do not make a good impression. The natural enemy of spiders, including the tarantula, is another flying insect the size of an acorn, which the people of Santa Cruz call

/76 cont./

174 167 When experience showed them that they could settle in the regions which they occupy today because the harvests were certain, they made their homes there and, when invaded, defended the territory at all costs, as has been seen. 241 433 The region, as was seen in the first chapter, is certainly very fertile; when it is irrigated by rain, it produces every [461] type of cereal; maize matures exuberantly, and the crops are splendid with little labor. If the fields are kept free of weeds with a couple of weeding hooks and there is no lack of rain, the Chiriguano can sing all year around the big chicha bowl in the company of his friends.

433 241 511 [731] But if rain is scarce, the crops are generally lost, and then the Chiriguano suffers, digs roots for his food, and sells everything he has, even his trousers and his wife's new tipoy, in order to support his poor family miserably. In times of scarcity the Indian plants with considerable hope a small patch where it is damp, such as around a lake or /77/ along some stream; plantings of this type are called socorro /succor/, and in fact they are, when roots can scarcely be found. Oh a few green gourd leaves at this time are like syrup in the Chiriguano's mouth! Poor Indian!

Language

192 [101] By what has already been related it can easily be understood that the Chiriguano are descendants of the Guaraní of Paraguay; thus the Chiriguano language is very analogous to Guaraní, as well as the Guarayo language, and it can be stated as a fact that both the Guarayo and the Chiriguano languages have the same relationship to Guaraní as that which exists among the Spanish, French, and Italian languages with respect to the Latin language, which is their mother (1).

[194] [171] 1. The Chiriguano language has very few accented words; in Guaraní they are abundant. For example, "abati," maize,

/112 cont./

142 The Chiriguano at the time of birth has a color which is difficult to define, but, and let nobody laugh at this, his color is that of newborn mice, and as he grows the color changes until it is that of sunburnt parchment. The causes [147] of this change are the tropical heat, the sudden winds and changes, and the burning sun, to the action of which they expose themselves with untoward pleasure, with no bother and without fear, even should they be but tender infants.

• 44 147 From this it can easily be deduced that the Indian does not fear the canicular sun, or heat either; he works on the hottest days without shirt, trousers, or anything which re- [291] sembles these; he stretches out full length, very content, [516] receiving on his back the rays of the firey sun, and nothing daunts him. But when the north wind changes to the south and consequently the cold begins and the frost comes, he is very cowardly, and it is hard to make him work well and happily; in such cases it is easier to suspend the work for a few days, not to pay the laborers anything at all, and not to get uselessly angry; but this can only be done when the suspension does not have any bad effects (2). /Illustration appears here./

2. It is not only the Chiriguano Indian who hates the cold, but also the other races of America, such as, for example, the Quichua /Quechua/, according to what the historian Robertson says.

165 /113/ Life Span

The Chiriguano normally lives a good many years; he is little affected by heat, cold, and the inconstancy of the climate, nor by drunkenness and self-indulgence, to which [145] capital vices he abandons himself from a tender age. Some reach and pass 100 years, judging their longevity by their hair, since their hair does not turn white except at a very

[Text Continues on P. 156]

/115 cont./
obtain the participation of his people when some work of public utility is ordered.

Dominant among the Chiriguano are idleness, inconstancy, intemperance, thievery, infanticide, abortion, and even suicide, which is generally committed by the women. They only work when it is necessary and when they are overcome by want; then they will sweat in order to eat, and then with all humility they appear at the house of a Christian and deliver themselves into his charge with the whole family. But if near the carai /sic; see caray, p. 157/, they find another of their own race who might favor them, even though it be disadvantageous, they do it, because they abhor the one whom they consider the author of their misfortunes or of their captivity. Therefore whenever they speak of the carai, they append the adjective pochi, bad, perverse, tyrannical, rascally, etc.

They learn very easily everything that is taught them, especially music, for which they seem to have been born, but their fickleness ruins it all; they are not set in their ideas nor do they worry much about any loss, even that of their honor. Temperance is not even known by name, and drunkenness is glory, and for that reason in years of plenty, there are continual orgies in their towns. Thievery and cattle-stealing are relatively recent; they were not common formerly, and the cause is probably that of bad example. In certain areas young cattle disappear from sight, and they are so united that the facts are not easily uncovered. Only after /116/ some time has passed or because of enmity will some fact come to light (1).

1. In their peaceful denunciations they urge great secrecy so that the authorities will not make public their names, out of fear that the person informed upon may take revenge with the use of poison or witchcraft, and, if the crime is not proven, the authorities can do more than reprimand and admonish.

/123 cont./

Aptitudes

461
157 It cannot be denied that laziness is innate in the Chiriguano Indian, but, when compared with the Toba, Mataco, and other tribes, I assert that they do a great deal or even too much. They need a guide, they need to be watched over, but when this is not lacking, they are hard working. The whites 464 in the regions inhabited by these Indians do not know of any other laborers. All the towns of Cordillera, Azero, and Gran Chaco have been built with the energies of the Chiriguano. With these same laborers are sustained the agriculture and cattle raising of these provinces, and even by means of them are the national roads of these regions kept clean and open, as well as those from one canton to another, the one from Yacuiba to Santa Cruz and the one from Taperilla. The Chiriguano laborers began and are continuing the work on the Azero bridge, /124/ and many of them are still working on the Bermejo River close to where it arrives at Yacuiba (1).

1. A private enterprise composed of Don Braulio Zapata, corregidor of Carandaiti, the subprefect, Don Ramón Menduiña, and other well-known and rich men of the same town is organizing an expedition to the fields of Cayuguari to found a fort there and to conquer the territory. The subprefect plans to open a cart road, with the help of the Chiriguano cacique, Mandepónai, and his soldiers.

997 The paternal rule of the missionaries has managed to make the Chiriquano much more docile; it has succeeded in building towns and large centers of population around the Cross; there is not one of the towns of those who live in complete ignorance of Religion that can be compared with them. The Missionaries have succeeded in building magnificent churches, great teaching establishments, comfortable and airy houses, workshops for arts and crafts. They have managed to implant the teaching of

/173 cont./

342 824 element and that of the hollow cane are due to the abundance of cattle, which destroy even the straw for harnesses.

342 574 [476] [831] When the placement of the roof has been completed, they all come down and gather in the hut of the friend, who, as a reward or payment for the service rendered, offers them a cup of chicha, and they drink this amidst jokes and crudities, at times very heavy, especially should maidens or women of 30 years or older who do not keep quiet pass by. But as the people know each other well and are friends, the greatest harmony reigns, and, when everything is finished, they take leave of the owner, thanking him for his gifts, and he shows them his gratitude for the services which they have rendered (2).

2. The workers only ask for chicha in recompense, but if the owner has beans or gourds cooked for them in a stew with considerable stimulant in the form of chili pepper, arivivi, it is a feast or carnival for all.

342 312 [221] The rest of the work is done with less haste and at a more opportune time. In fact, most wait until the rainy season to do it, for then water is abundant, and this to be sure deserves the approbation of all because it is more economical and easier. Thus, taking into consideration the laziness of the Indian man [46] and the tasks which the Chiriguano woman has, it would be expensive and quite tiresome to bring the water on their shoulders from great distances, which is avoided during the rainy season. [356] Then during each shower not only is the construction of the walls of the new houses done, but also the repair of those which have come apart during the year, and it is very amusing to see from a distance the women around the houses with their sleeves rolled up or with the tipoy down to the waist, making holes in the wet ground with shovel or hoe, pouring a little water in, kneading the earth, forming large balls of it, and putting it between the canes which are already attached.

/238 cont./

423 311 To acquire possession of a small plot of land, the Chiriguano selects beforehand the part that he likes best in the region, which he judges to be wet enough because it is on the slopes of ridges or hills or because water collects there in the rainy season. Naturally, the site which he intends to cultivate must have no signs of previous cultivation, because if there were any the owner or his descendants, even though at some distance, would immediately place a claim before the competent authority, the cacique.

423 [241] If the plot has not been tilled, he can be sure of not being disturbed, and before the rainy season ends he plants on it anything /239/ which will be visible, such as the Güindaca-guasu, a large gourd which spreads a great deal, invades everything, and is not easily strangled by weeds. Another way to acquire property is to break all the bushes around the site, or, finally, to make cuts with his ax on the largest trees.

No one can lay claim to a place that belongs to the community of the Indians, where anyone has worked, and the one 241 who made the prior signs is regarded as the owner. The rainy season passes, the cold comes and dries up the grass and the leaves of the trees; before August ends, the Indian sets fire to the whole new plot, which consumes the grass and the brambles and makes useless the larger trees. All the ashes [461] that are left are fertilizer for the land, and the fire has destroyed all the seeds of the weeds and brush, so that the first planting which is done on the new plot is almost free of weeds, which saves labor for the lazy Chiriguano (1).

1. The old Indians still do some work in order not to have many weeds in their fields, but the modern ones are little concerned about it now in many areas. Moreover, the cattle do not leave any time, invading everything and eating up the pasturage in a short time. It is very sensible to prohibit the burning of the fields after the harvest.

241 [476] [534] /240 cont./ go to the plot, waking each other up with shouts, whistles, and by means of the Huacananti, cow's horn.

The method of planting is very simple. When the land is soft, the planter makes a small hole with his spade, using two or three blows, then pushes the spade forward, throws in two or three grains of seed and covers them. Then, without moving he makes another hole to the right, horizontal to the first, and a third to the left, performing the same operation as in the first, after which he takes a step and continues as before until he finishes. With many working, the planting of a plot is soon finished.

241 461 512 The Indian does not work beyond midday, and he tries to finish the job before leaving it in order not to return; therefore that the work sometimes lasts until two in the afternoon. Then the owner and his companions stop, return to the town, where they are awaited with plenty of food and chicha, which the former has ordered prepared, if the previous harvests were abundant (2).

[273] [262] 2. In any case, if there were a lack of chicha, because of previous scarcity, and mead made from algarrobas, the housewife should still wait for the planters with food mixed with some meat and plenty of chili peppers.

241 476 They formerly continued in this fashion until the planting of a tribe was completed: one day on one's own plot and another on that of a companion, and even the cacique did the same; today this is difficult to manage, because now they are not so close. Nevertheless, in times of scarcity, if someone prepares chicha for those who may wish to help him in planting or weeding, they leave or refuse money for a few matés or /241/ glasses of this much desired liquor. Even the whites get peons more easily this way.

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It falls to the cacique to give the order for the general drinking, and this is not long in coming. Twenty or thirty days before it takes place, he puts a large vessel in front of his house: this is the signal. Then in the evening, or when he judges best, he addresses a long discourse to his subjects, exhorting them to prepare what is necessary for the Arete: he stresses in this discourse that maize is a thing for drinking, once it has been obtained through the kindness of the sorcerer, lord of the rains. He adds that it is very proper not to lose the ancient custom of drinking and having a great feast to show friendship and courtesy to neighbors who live in other tribes. He underlines in his discourse the need to prepare good chicha and plenty of it and to prepare much wild game, so that those who are to participate as guests can enjoy these things and other, domestic foods to their full satisfaction, and that this may be a great honor for the townspeople.

I do not believe that anyone doubts the completely satisfactory effect that the cacique's discourse has on the mind of the Chiriguano, who wants nothing more than to drink, sing, and dance: thus, after the said speech, great joy appears on all faces, and all sigh in expectation of the arrival of the happy day when they can gather as good friends (1).

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●461

1. The caciques are very happy in their speeches for fiestas, but when it comes to work, they are not so much so. Humanity is not naturally inclined toward work. When a crop was very abundant, it was unlikely that they would plant the next year, and they would be content with very little.

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On the next day activity has already begun, and the first thing is to go to the field or plot to provide themselves with sufficient maize so that there may be no lack of chicha. The women then begin to grind night and day, while the men bring in firewood: then, when /258/ there is enough firewood, they go off in considerable numbers to hunt in order to have meat and be able to invite their friends.

/267 cont./

54 177 [648] Don Antonio Menduiña, who had requested aid; he fought on bravely alone, helped by his soldiers from Azero.

Thus, even though it is not of Chiriguano origin, the carnival [178] is greatly celebrated here, so much so that it bears the name of Arete, fiesta, through antonomasia, and all the old fiestas are [461 292] gradually disappearing, yielding to this one. For the days that this residue of paganism lasts, the Chiriguano works almost all year in spite of the laziness that accompanies him; for it is he gladly helps the whites, receiving in exchange money to buy clothing for himself and his wife and children; and on those days all are on great parade, showing off luxurious garments of every form and color, garments which, to be sure, they do not dare put on /268/ during the other days of the year, neither for the Ayarise nor for the Mbapa páure.

In such circumstances there is hardly any difference between [532] blacks and whites; the men well dressed, and even the infidel women with garb adorned with gauze, fancy hats, and multicolored ribbon; the children cover their faces with masks which they have made beforehand by carving toborochí wood; young men prefer to show off on horseback, riding at a gallop, and others, such as the old people, amuse themselves by looking at the dancers and Aŋüeros /maskers/, for whom everything is allowed because it is carnival.

94 535 [529] By way of preparation for the big fiesta, or because one drinks and has fun, they make merry on the compadre and comadre days, and on Quinquagesima Saturday, all day, the maskers and dancers practice the dances that they call Aticu. [532] On the next day from eight to nine they begin the carnival, dancing to the music of drums and flutes of hollow cane, and the one who is called lord of the fiesta is someone in disguise with a mask that depicts an old man with a white beard, usually mounted on a burro; the one who is thus disguised directs the fiesta, makes his speeches in each corner of the plaza, recommending harmony and happiness (1).

1. The principal man so disguised has subalterns.

/303 cont./

362 356 797 What the Chiriguano thinks least about is his house; it is very hard to find one who makes a comfortable one. If he does begin to build one, he is a long time finishing it, if indeed he ever does, and if it falls into ruins, he bothers little about repairs: when it rains, the house fills up with water and becomes a mud-hole, but he and the family are there sleeping and snoring like dormice. To make them renovate their villages, it is almost always necessary to threaten them and promise punishment and at times apply it, so that what happened in the fable of the toads will not occur.

● 461 293 The Indian is always ready to drink; if for this it is necessary to pile up firewood and carry it from great distances, no one shirks; everyone shakes off his natural laziness with great enthusiasm. Both men and women then become quite active for ten days or two weeks, in order then to drink for six days or more, during which their faces become repugnant, both because of the cosmetics with which they think they beautify themselves and because of their state of half or total drunkenness. Then they talk of many things, and then finally some of them remember about collecting from others, and quarrels arise from this, and to stop these and also to put an end to the idleness the missionary must firmly intervene. If the Indians had a good crop of maize and the drinking bout were prohibited entirely or in part they would organize them in the fields where they plant, and then worse things would happen.

797 293 Chicha by itself does not cause much damage in their stomachs, and they easily bear up for several days without more than a half-inebriation; the bad thing now is a scandalously widespread abuse of alcohol, which very soon intoxicates them until they are senseless and do not even know that they are alive. The missionary is vigilant in his enforcement of the rules, but it seems that they are members of a secret sect, and they tell him only when it is all over, or when they wish to avenge some grievance.

6: Nordenskiöld--42 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF 10
Chané SF8
C
Ca
264
Ea
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Ca
[023]

/190 cont./

It seemed to me that true mealtimes were observed here, the first of which was in the morning, the second in the middle of the day, and the third at sundown.

If they have an abundance of food in the house, they also invite in the neighboring households. A visiting Indian is very hospitably received. He need not leave without having received maize beer or food. In the Chané villages on the Río Parapití the Indians always served me a bowl of sweet potatoes when I visited them.

Ca
415
171

Fig. 92b. Upper clay-vessel. The specimen illustrated here is from the Mataco-Vejos, who learned how to use it from the Chané. 1/4.

Ca
262

The Chané do not eat donkeys, mules, horses, dogs, foxes, vultures, or monkeys. On the other hand, puma and jaguar are regarded as edible.

Ea
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Even if the women in the villages are not cooking, brewing, or tending their little ones, they are nevertheless always busy. At least one almost never sees the older ones among them without an occupation. They spin, make clay vessels, weave. I learned to appreciate these women; I admired their loving care of the children, their industry, their maintenance of the home, their skill, and their taste.

/86 cont./

The inequalities which formerly existed between the class of the Chiriguano themselves and the class of their subjects, which was for the most part made up of Chané, is no longer important today, since the latter were emancipated at the end of the last century, and they again have their own great caciques and ordinary caciques. Beyond the fact that the family to which the caciques belong has a certain preference (332) today, scarcely

332. Nord. 1, p. 230.

any difference exists today among the members of the same Chiriguano community with respect to their economy. But such a difference indeed exists among the various communities themselves, depending on the conditions of production in the different places. Also today, since the emancipation of the Chané, the work is distributed, more or less equally among the members of the community of the same sex. The great cacique and his wife take part in communal labor. Only a few Indians are exempt from this rule, and they are those who have accommodated themselves to the modern situation and send members of their own tribe to work as servants (333).

333. Nord. 1, p. 231.

Inequality of practical importance exists almost solely between the two sexes, and especially with regard to the distribution of labor. With regard to the supplying of /87/ necessities, this inequality between the sexes does not appear, but only in the fact that the men and the women eat apart and the men in general eat first and women and children later (334). Nordenskiöld has

334. Nord. 1, p. 189.

made up an exact scheme of the distribution of labor between men and women (335) /there is no footnote bearing this number/. According to this scheme, the following work is apportioned only to men: hunting, planting and clearing, woodworking, twisting